



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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EDITORIALS AND NEWS ITEMS.

MARCH 1935 ISSUE.

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# = THE SOCIALIST APPEAL =

Published every month by the APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
4452 North Hermitage Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Vol. 1

March, 1935

No. 2

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

### DECISIVE ACTION OF THE N. E. C. IN INDIANA.

The National Executive Committee of our party has acted to clean up the situation in the party in Indiana with a promptness and decisiveness that deserve the highest commendation. It has been obvious ever since the Detroit convention and the adoption of the Declaration of Principles that Emma Henry and her small group of die-hard right wingers were not willing to act as a loyal minority. We must expect differences of opinion in the party. Intellectual struggle on fundamental principles is a sign of vitality and is not to be discouraged and suppressed.

Two things must go with differences of opinion on fundamental problems: one, the majority must give the minority the right to advocate its views; two, the minority must be a loyal minority, that is, it must help build the party and not paralyze the activities of the majority. The right wing group in control of the state of Indiana was not a loyal minority. It went to the extent of permitting if not initiating

a referendum for the state to withdraw from the Socialist party. That constitutes treason to the party and must be dealt with decisively.

The N.E.C. suspended the Indiana charter and sent Paul Porter to take charge of the organization on behalf of the Socialist party. Emma Henry and her followers turned out to be in a hopeless minority and all indications are that the party will advance by leaps and bounds now that it is freed from the dead hand of the right wing.

As was to be expected the old guard of New York rushed to the aid of their Indiana sympathizers. A supplement to the New Leader hurls fire and brimstone on the N.E.C. Underneath the rage of the New York right wingers can be detected the fear that the N. E. C. will act with as much decisiveness in the case of every disloyal minority. If it is true that the New York right wing is preventing about 600 members from joining the party because these new members might help the militants, then in our opinion the right wing is guilty of absolute dis-



loyalty to the party and should be dealt with decisively by the N. E. C.

A justified criticism of the N.E.C. is that it has not kept the party membership well informed about events in Indiana. Whatever happens in any section of the party is of tremendous importance to the whole party. The members must be mobilized against any attempt to paralyze the party and that means that the N.E.C. must find ways and means to keep the membership informed.

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#### ROOSEVELT AND THE A.F. OF L. LEADERSHIP

One of the pillars of the Roosevelt administration has been the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. Undoubtedly reflecting the blind confidence of the vast majority of the laboring masses, Green, Woll, Lewis, Hillman and the other leaders of American organized labor looked to the great Franklin Delano Roosevelt to make it easy for them to enlarge the membership of their International Unions. In turn they were more than willing to sing his praises in and out of season and to defend him against attack from left and right.

The hope and faith of the labor leaders in the great white father sitting in the White House were due mainly to the insertion of Section 7-A in the National Industrial Recovery Act. The A.F. of L. officials did a lot of wishful thinking. They considered section 7-A as

a guarantee of the administration's interest in the organization of labor and in collective bargaining. Had they had the slightest conception of what Marxism is and analyzed the actions of the Roosevelt administration from the angle of class forces and relationships they would have had no difficulty in explaining what actuated Roosevelt in consenting to the insertion of that section in the NRA. Anxious to get the support of the great masses behind him in order to keep the capitalist machine functioning, he had to throw a bone to the labor leaders in the form of a vague formulation of the right of labor to organize into unions of their own choosing.

The great mistake of the labor leaders was not in taking advantage of section 7-A in so far as it created a conviction amongst the workers that now they had the authority of the government in organizing unions but in actually relying on the administration to stand behind labor in the struggle for union recognition. The Communists went to the opposite extreme and urged the insane tactic of attempting to organize the workers for a struggle against the NRA at a time when they had the utmost confidence in it. The correct attitude taken by those who understood how to analyze social relations from a Marxist viewpoint was to explain to the workers that they must rely on their own forces and their own strength and not upon any law and at the same time take advantage of the psychological stimulus to organization which section 7-A furn



ished. It was also necessary to make clear from the very beginning that there are grave dangers lurking in the NRA and that the organized force of the working class is necessary to avoid those dangers.

What happened was that a few of the more astute labor leaders actually saw the necessity of launching an effective organizational drive while the vast majority permitted the wave of strikes following the slight improvement in economic conditions and the passing of the NRA to go by without any great gains for their organizations. The failure to organize the workers in the automobile industry and in the steel industry can be laid squarely on Green, Tighe and the rest of that gang of fossilized "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class". They relied on boards appointed by the administration to hold fair elections and thus avoid the struggles which are so terrifying to them. They leaned on broken reeds and now, after the workers have exhausted their initial energies, these labor officials are making threats which no one takes seriously.

But labor leaders, to justify their existence, must show some results. And when the heavy hand of the government upon which they relied keeps shoving them back they begin to rear and snort. The labor leaders did not like the idea of S. Clay Williams, multi-millionaire tobacco king, being appointed head of the NRA. They protested and demanded his removal and of course Roosevelt had ears that heard not. And when the auto-

mobile code was extended without labor having been consulted the A F of L officials made a show of real resistance.

Roosevelt himself was a little too holy to be touched, so the officials concentrated their wrath upon their former friends and counsellors, Donald Richberg and Leo Wolman. Roosevelt was being misled by these evil spirits. It helped the labor officials nought. The President invited the whole Executive Council of the A F of L to the White House and assured them of his undying devotion to the cause of labor and left the labor leaders just where they were.

Driven to desperation, Green and his buddies did put up a fight to insert a prevailing wage clause in the administration works-relief bill and succeeded in having the prevailing wage amendment adopted in the Senate. But that victory is meaningless because reactionary republicans who are opposed to any kind of work-relief voted for that amendment and the chances are all in favor of the administration's ultimate victory.

The thirty-hour-week bill will be bitterly fought by the Roosevelt forces. Senator Wagner's "National Labor Relations Act", enthusiastically backed by labor and bitterly opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers, is opposed by the administration. That bill has a weak provision for outlawing company unions but also comes dangerously near compulsory arbitration. In spite of its defects, it would undoubtedly act



as a stimulus for the organization of unions provided the labor leaders would take advantage of it and not rely on it as they did with section 7-A. Labor has not as yet learned the great lesson that union organization and better conditions of labor come as a result of struggle and not by virtue of any legislation.

In opposition to the Wagner bill the administration recommends the extension of the NRA for another two years. By this time it should be clear to everyone that the NRA is a snare and a delusion as far as labor is concerned. The automobile and steel industries will not be organized by virtue of the NRA or any other law and judging by the past, the official labor leaders will have to be driven into an organizational campaign. Militant lodges in the steel union are getting restless and our hope is in the militant action of all progressive trade unionists.

The rift between Roosevelt and the union officials is bound to grow wider with time. Then what next? A third party, a progressive party or a Labor party? That is too important a problem to discuss in a short editorial. It will be discussed in an article in the next issue.

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#### WELCOME "THE SOCIALIST CALL"

As we go to press (pardon, as we turn the handle of the mimeograph machine) the long-delayed but nevertheless joyous news arrives that the "Socialist Call"

new militant Socialist weekly, will make its first appearance, March 16 in New York City. Our understanding is that it will be a propaganda paper having as its primary purpose the interpretation of news for the wide masses from a socialist point of view. It will not have as its main object the discussion of Socialist party problems but the bringing of the socialist message to workers and other elements in society who are not as yet members of the Socialist party.

However, the circumstances under which it was born impel us to the conclusion that it will teach socialism to the masses from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism. Whether it openly confesses it or not, the new socialist weekly has come into being because of the deep dissatisfaction of most of the party members with the attitude of the "New Leader", organ of the right wing of the party. To justify its existence it will have to report and discuss national and international events from a point of view directly opposed to that of the "New Leader", from the point of view of the revolutionary class struggle. It is impossible to conceive of any paper teaching socialism in the abstract, a socialism neither left nor right, and the "Socialist Call" must teach that kind of socialism which does not intend to organize the masses for capitulation but for struggle and victory.

Nor is it possible to expect that party controversies can be altogether excluded from a socialist paper. The "New Leader"



does not conceal its views on party problems and the "Socialist Call", without filling all of its pages with a discussion on party problems, will also be compelled to present its militant viewpoint on the burning questions of party life.

Every militant in the Socialist party, every left winger, is under a most serious obligation to support the "Socialist Call" in every way possible. Contributions and subscriptions can be sent to the "Socialist Call" 41 East 20th St., New York City.

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#### A NATIONAL SOCIALIST WEEKLY

While we are on the subject of socialist papers, we must mention the fact, by this time known to every party member, that the National Executive Committee is about to launch a national socialist weekly paper. Its character will of course differ from that of the "Socialist Call". Being an official socialist paper representing the party as such, it will necessarily present the viewpoint of the majority of the National Committee. We are given to understand that it will not involve itself in the least in the controversies on principles and tactics between different tendencies in the party.

As a national Socialist weekly, it will serve a very valuable purpose and judging from the enthusiasm with which the announcement of its launching has been received by party members it will have no difficulty in living and growing. The support which every militant and

left winger will give to the "Socialist Call" should not in the least interfere with the aid which he must give to the official organ of the Socialist party.

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#### THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Unity of the unemployed throughout the country in their struggles for more adequate relief and for unemployment insurance has been and still is a vital necessity. The spectacle of a dozen different organizations of unemployed fighting practically for the same demands is disheartening. Due to Communist perverse tactics the unemployed have been organized by different political groups and kept apart because every political group fears that the other groups will capture control of the organization and use it for its own political purposes. The real interests of the unemployed logically demand the unity of all unemployed organizations with the different political tendencies working loyally with in that organization.

But so long as Communists are Communists, which means so long as they persist in disruptive and destructive tactics for the purpose of gaining mechanical control we must face the issue squarely and not give way to sentimental desires for unity. The problem in the labor movement both of the employed and unemployed is to isolate the Communists and let them do as little harm as possible.

A gratifying step forward in



the unification of the unemployed has been taken at a conference of various unemployed organizations recently held at Washington, D. C. Approximately 125 delegates representing 17 states and over half a million unemployed workers united to form the WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA. Headquarters will be in Milwaukee. David Lasser is Chairman and Paul Rasmussen, Secretary.

A wonderful beginning. And now the task is to organize the millions of unemployed and to unite their struggles with the struggle of the employed. In that task it is the duty of every Socialist party member to volunteer his services.

#### NO EXPULSIONS BECAUSE OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE R. P. C.

As we predicted in the Febru-

ary issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, the New York right wing took advantage of the N E C resolution on the Revolutionary Policy Committee and its advocacy of armed insurrection to begin expulsions of R P C members. That was exactly why that resolution was dangerous and why we should fight against it. It threatens freedom of expression and democracy within the party. It threatens to cut off all discussion on a vital problem.

We are opposed to the attempt on the part of the R P C to insert the phrase "armed insurrection" into any program for the Socialist party. But we are for the right of any member to advocate that idea.

The N E C should act to have all expelled R P C members reinstated in the party.

#### IN MEMORY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

March 18 to May 28, 1871.

The horny-handed, the toilers, to one side -- the soft-handed, the exploiters to the other; the horny-handed to be marched into the cemeteries and shot and lumped into mass graves - the soft-handed to return to Paris to begin the exploitation of new toilers.

In this picture of the last days of the Paris Commune we see the symbolization of its unique importance in the history of socialism. Unwittingly, the generals of the triumphant Thiers government, when they felt Parisians' hands to determine to which

class they belonged, demonstrated the class character of the Commune. In his CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE. Marx says of the Commune: Its real secret was this: it was essentially a government of the working class, the result of the struggle between the producing class and the appropriating class the political form, at last discovered, under which the economic emancipation of labor could be accomplished."

Despite many mistakes due to the immaturity of the French proletariat, the student of the



Commune will find in it guideposts to the socialist road to power. While the Revolutions of 1848 taught in general that the fight against poverty under capitalism included a fight against the state, and the form of workers' power. Our party's slogan of struggle for a "Workers' Democracy" includes "the political form" of the Paris Commune, plus the additional consolidating force of the democratic party of the workers as the governing apparatus during the transitional period to socialism.

Marx and Lenin write that the Commune was doomed to defeat. There was no political party of the workers to consolidate state power. The Communards dealt too weakly with their enemies. They failed to rally the surrounding country.

In the May days of the Commune, most of the Communards also knew that they were doomed and yet they fought on, died the deaths of workers' heroes, and taught the world the power of the working class. What a reproach is the Commune to the Socialists and Communists of Germany who capitulated to reaction without so much as a skirmish! And what honor to the Socialists of Austria and Spain - despite their political mistakes - when they fought in the glorious tradition of the Commune!

Today, with the ranks of the American workers divided by fratricidal wars, it is well to recall the solidarity of the Paris proletariat in defence of the Commune. Divided as it was before the March days into "pet-

ty-bourgeois anarchists of the Proudhon stamp, Blanquists, Babeufists, Jacobins, and supporters of the International Workingmen's Association", the whole working class united in action, to defend the Paris of the workers.

This solidarity and bravery of the Communards may well point a lesson to those both within and without the workers' ranks, who minimize its power as a class because of its disunity. Once the workers as a class are set into motion, unity rather than disunity is the order of the day. This task of setting the American workers into motion is the major task of our party.

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"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

-Marx - Civil War in France

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To convince all nations of his neighborliness Roosevelt is planning to increase the standing army from 118,000 to 165,000 men and to appropriate over one billion dollars for military and naval affairs, the largest peace-time appropriation since 1921. Japan, anxious to show similar neighborly policies, will also increase her armaments. All for a nice little "neighborly chat".



## A SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN

(Being a speech most of which was not delivered before the general membership meeting of Local Cook County S.P.)---by Albert Goldman

Comrades: The reports of Comrade Waltmire and Comrade Despres on the election campaigns in the 34th and 5th Wards bring out with great clearness two fundamentally contradictory conceptions as to the purpose and nature of a socialist election campaign. Almost from the very beginning an election campaign has been one of the points that divided the revolutionary from the reformist socialists, and it is safe to say that it will continue to be so until the working class is in political control of the nation.

Neither Comrade Waltmire nor Comrade Despres has made any attempt to conceal their attitude. With disarming frankness Waltmire tells us that if a Socialist party election campaign has two objects, one to win office and another to make socialists, he was interested primarily, if not only, in winning office and was not at all concerned in making socialists. He wants us to believe that only after winning office will he concern himself with the problem of making socialists and that such a method of approach affords the greatest possibility of success. "In our ward we wanted votes; in the fifth ward they wanted members" are his exact words and he gave utterances to this sentiment with great complacency exceedingly confident of its correctness, and I dare say he is somewhat surprised that not all comrades agree with him.

Comrade Despres who conducted

the election campaign in the fifth ward with Comrade Krueger running for Alderman, with justifiable pride, reported that twenty-three new members joined the branch as a result of the campaign and that the 614 votes obtained in the ward represented people who can be considered as having voted not only for the immediate demands contained in the platform, but for the idea of socialism. He emphasized the fact that they solicited votes not because Krueger is a good man, an honest man, a church member or a professor but because he is a socialist and a member of the Socialist party, advocating socialist principles.

Supporters of Comrade Waltmire and his election campaign point to the fact that in the 34th Ward close to 3500 votes were cast for Waltmire, while Krueger obtained only 600 votes. They admit that not one additional member was recruited into the party by Waltmire's campaign but that is of very slight importance in comparison with the number of votes. This is the standing argument of all reformists, the argument that has been used over and over again by those who think that that the socialist society can be ushered in by getting people to vote for the right kind of candidates regardless of platform or program. Have recent events in Germany, in Austria taught them nothing at all? Have they not learned that merely to depend on number of votes is to lean on a broken reed and live in a house of



cards? Apparently so!

Of course I can point to the fact that the 34th Ward is an old socialist stronghold containing a radical working class population composed largely of Jewish, Norwegian and Swedish workers. The 5th Ward on the other hand is inhabited mainly by middle class elements with no socialist traditions. This could easily account for the difference in the number of votes. One could claim without any exaggeration that had the 5th Ward comrades waged the same kind of socialist campaign in the 34th Ward they would have obtained at least as many votes as Waltmire polled. But I shall not stress this point at all; I shall make the same assumption as Waltmire and his supporters, namely, that he obtained a larger vote because of the nature of his campaign and not because the population of his ward has had a long socialist training.

Now it ought to be obvious to every Socialist that socialism will not come into existence unless the majority of the people are willing to struggle for socialism and that means that they have some idea of what it is. If the people who vote for a Socialist do not do so because he is a Socialist but because they do not know that he is a Socialist, of what earthly use can that be for achieving the socialist goal? Socialism must depend upon the consciousness of the working masses and not upon their lack of knowledge. The idea that we should first be elected to office and then teach socialism to the masses is so utterly absurd

that it should not even be discussed. It can be stated with the greatest of assurance that a candidate on the Socialist ticket who refrains from teaching socialism during the campaign, with the idea that he will do so after he is elected will not only forget all about socialism while he is in office but will forget all about his promises to fight for the immediate demands of his platform.

From the point of view of achieving socialism 600 votes, obtained conducting a campaign where socialist ideas and the Socialist party are stressed, are worth ten times more than 3500 votes polled in a campaign where the necessity for the struggle for socialism was not stressed and where the Socialist party, its program and its tactics were shoved into the background.

A casual analysis of the campaign literature distributed by Waltmire and that distributed on be half of Krueger sharply brings out the difference in the two campaigns. In the case of the former, Waltmire's personal virtues were stressed, the "fighting parson" was glorified. In the case of the latter, emphasis was laid on the nature of capitalist society and the necessity of the conquest of political power by the working class for the purpose of introducing socialism. The immediate demands in the literature of both candidates could undoubtedly be improved. One is gratified that cheaper milk and cleaner alleys found in Waltmire's platform were omitted in the list of Krueger's immediate demands.



Waltmire and those who see things eye to eye with him in this controversy take the position that if the Socialist party is to amount to anything it must go into a political campaign with the idea of piling up votes and not of teaching socialism. I insist that this is not at all the correct formulation of the question. The question is not: Shall we go into a campaign to win or to teach socialism, but it is: HOW SHALL WE WIN FOR SOCIALISM. ... True we must go into a campaign to win; but to win what and how?

Absurd is it to say that the Socialist party is a political party only to the extent that it succeeds in winning votes. The Socialist party is and must be a political party throughout the year and not only during election campaigns. It is a political party when it organizes unemployed workers and when it participates in the economic struggles of the working class. An election campaign is simply one of its important political functions and should not at all be considered as something independent of all its other work. An election campaign may be of infinitely less importance than a militant strike. A campaign is of value to the extent that it teaches and mobilizes the masses for winning socialism.

No one denies that during an election campaign the workers are more likely to listen to a discussion on economics and politics than during any other period and we can do that best if we run candidates for the purpose of winning for socialism and that can be effectively accomplished only by showing

the workers and middle class the necessity to struggle for the immediate demands and for the ultimate abolition of the capitalist system.

Besides the number of votes cast for a Socialist candidate, another criterion for the success of a campaign is the number of members recruited into the party through the campaign. It is inconceivable that a real socialist campaign should not attract members to the party and to those of us who realize that socialism can not be introduced without an effective revolutionary Socialist party, recruiting members into the party is not all of secondary importance. Obtaining votes for Socialism and members for the party go hand in hand.

Comrade Waltmire stressed the fact that in his platform he mentioned that he was "endorsed by the Socialist party." A very curious formulation not at all justified because the election was theoretically "non-partisan." That phrase conceals Waltmire's membership in the party more than it reveals it. Proudly he asserted that the reactionary Daily News and the conservative Municipal Voters' League also endorsed him. One could just as easily surmise that he was a member of the Municipal Voters' League. For a Socialist candidate simply to state that he is endorsed by the Socialist party is a slap in the party's face.

No comrades, the attitude expressed by one comrade that we must get results no matter how we get them, is a self-defeating one. That attitude led Up-



ton Sinclair into the Democratic Party; that attitude will lead many a member of the party into some kind of a Progressive party. No Socialist can afford to forget for one moment the fundamental Marxist principle that we can achieve socialism either through the conscious action of the working class aided by the middle class, or we do not get it at all.

Have we already forgotten? Is it so difficult for us to remember that only two years ago the

Hitler cohorts smashed the Social Democratic party of Germany and the Communist party without any resistance? And together, they had millions and millions of votes; victory will come to the working class only if it is conscious and willing to struggle and sacrifice and if it is led by a determined revolutionary Socialist party. To deceive ourselves with numbers of votes is to prepare for ourselves the fate of our brothers in Germany the hell of fascist concentration camps and the chopping off of our heads.

### CAN THE ROAD TO POWER BE A LEGAL ONE?

by Ernest Erber

While the various groups in the labor movement calling themselves Marxists have widely different views on many vital problems, there still remain fundamentals upon which they all agree. It is well in considering the question of legality and the Road to Power that we first briefly restate those fundamentals that form the basis of Marxist thought.

First, Marxists maintain that our society is divided into classes based on groups of people standing in the same relationship to the means of production.

Secondly, Marxists hold that the interests of these classes are antagonistic and irreconcilable and that a constant struggle goes on between them over the division of the wealth that society produces.

Thirdly, Marxists hold that

the ability of the present ruling class, the capitalists, to maintain their power is due to their using their economic strength to control the government and use it as "an instrument of oppression" against the rest of society.

Fourth, Marxists say that the ability of the present ruling class, the capitalists, to maintain their power is due to their using their economic strength to control the government and use it as "an instrument of oppression" against the rest of society.

It is on the issue of the taking of governmental power by the workers that the widest division of opinion exists. Whether this taking power by the working class, or the Social Revolution as it is called, will be accomplished gradually or suddenly, legally or illegally, peacefully or violently, is the most vi-

tal question facing those in the vanguard of the Labor movement. It is upon our view of the Road to Power that we base our education of the working-class. It is upon the basis of its concept of the Road to Power that the working-class acts.

Those basic premises of Marxism enumerated above, namely that we live in a class society, that the dynamic force of that society is the class struggle, that the capitalist class maintains its position by control of the government, and that Labor can only free itself by wresting political power from Capital for the purpose of building a class-less society, are all statements with which no member of the Socialist Party can disagree. If we keep these fundamentals in mind, we will see more clearly on this issue of legality and the Road to Power.

We agreed that the ruling class was the ruling class because it controlled the government. The government protects the Capitalist class by protecting the source of its economic strength private property. It is the will of the capitalist class that the rights of private property be protected. It uses its control of government to write down its will and call it law. It uses its control of government to enforce its will, the law. The law is the voice of the ruling class.

In primitive tribes the command of the master was law to his slave. In ancient Athens the democratic assembly of slaveholders wrote the law for their slaves. The voice of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the commandments of generations of Feudal lords grown into tradition and

custom were the laws that the serfs and guildsmen of the middle Ages obeyed. The will of the representative of Copper, the representative of Sugar, the representative of Textiles, the representative of Finance, all sitting in Congress, is the law the American Worker obeys.

At present the processes of government by which the Capitalist Class of this country rules are called the democratic form of government. Democracy literally means "Rule of the people". We agreed however, that we live in a class society in which one class maintains its favorable economic position because it controls the rule by the people, since the capitalist class is a small minority, of the population. True enough, some will say, but the majority of people support the present system and therefore the capitalist class controls the government only as long as the majority of the voters permit them to. This objection is an example of the illusion created by the fact that the working-class is allowed to vote.

First a bit of history of the right to vote. It was some decades after the adoption of the Constitution that the workers of America secured the right to vote. They secured this right as did the workers of Europe, after the great agitations for the right to vote had been threatened to educate such large masses to an understanding of the class nature of government that the ruling class thought it better to make concessions than to seek to maintain its power by force of arms and risk



losing all. The concession of allowing the worker to vote was made with the knowledge that it would serve to further cover the dictatorship of Capital with a democratic cloak. This meant allowing the masses to vote but using Capital's control of the channels of information to teach the masses to vote against their own interests.

To America's ruling class this was no new trick, for the merchants and bankers of the coast towns had long found the political formula that would get the farmer and backwoodsmen to vote "right." This even long before the British colonies became the United States. While on the subject, it might be mentioned that one of the most significant movements by the farmers to free themselves from the rule of the merchants and bankers by electoral means was defeated by the ruling class with bribery, corruption, election irregularities, and by a method invented at the time by Elbridge Gerry, (elected Vice President of the U.S.A. in 1812) which has since come down to us as "gerrymandering." The farmer's disillusionment on the possibility of a legal victory found its expression in an armed revolt recorded in our school histories as Shay's Rebellion.

The right to vote for the propertyless was one of a number of concessions which a confident and secure class made during a period of an expanding and strengthening Capitalism. The right to vote for the propertyless is one of a number of other concessions which a frightened and weakening ruling class, driven into a corner by

the economic decline of Capitalism, will withdraw in self-defense. The argument is made that Labor can safeguard peaceful avenues of progress by fighting any attempt by Capital to abolish the right to vote, the freedom of speech and press, the right to strike. If Labor can prevent Capital from exercising its control of government to legally make these changes, it has dealt Capital a terrible blow and taken the offensive in a struggle which carried to its logical end can only result in the illegal overthrow of the capitalist government power. Thus the defense of what are now legal methods of social change becomes a revolutionary attack on the political power of Capital.

It might be useful to remind those who doubt that the ruling class would take from Labor legal methods of change of the frenzied hate, born of fear, with which Capital meets Labor in every industrial struggle, of the fight that Capital wages against purely reformist movements like the Non-partisan League and the Epic Planners, of the terror and sadism practiced against members of the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party during the World War, and the many similar examples. Historical incidents like the butchery of over 26,000 workers of Paris after the fall of the Commune, or the reversion to savagery by the ruling class of Hungary during the White Terror of 1919, or more recently the pent-up hatred of German Capital for the Labor movement unleashed in the convince us that when the struggle between Capital and Labor becomes a life and death issue,

not even civilized methods of combat are recognized, let alone legality. Guns are turned on women and children, prisoners of war are shot, no rule covering international warfare is observed.

For the working-class to hope for victory by legal means is like a football team hoping to win a game in which their opponents have the right to make and change the rules during the course of play, the only difference being that some degree of sportsmanship exists in a football game, but only a bitter hatred that stops at nothing in

the class struggle.

To speak of a Social Revolution that is legal is to speak of an absurd contradiction. At the beginning of this article we agreed that Capital controls the government. From this we draw the conclusion that the voice of the government, or the law, was the will of the ruling class. Can we overthrow the ruling class by its own will? If the ruling class so desires, it can be done. However, if we must overthrow Capital against its will, it cannot be done legally, as its will determines legality.

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#### DISCIPLINE IN A WORKING-CLASS PARTY. (by Lydia Biedell)

The historical necessity which called the working-class parties into existence also ordained in general what the nature of the socialist party must be - a voluntary army never demobilized as long as any least aspect of the battle on behalf of socialism is still to be fought out. This historical demand we inherit; social evolution lays it before us ready made. Our business now is to coordinate the forces of our party; to make it efficient and invincible in the relentless war against class oppression.

The party, then, is in a sense an army which goes daily into battle somewhere on some kind of front; its first duty to its members is to achieve thru its organization and direction a maximum of effective, concerted action with a minimum expenditure of energy and loss

of force. And this implies first of all a high degree of discipline.

Now the paid armies of the bourgeoisie one must admit are disciplined -- to the point where they have been known to annihilate in cold-blooded brutality large numbers of their fellow-members of the working class striving for a betterment of conditions. To get that kind of discipline the ruling class uses two kinds of persuasion: reward and punishment.

Neither of these is useful to the party of the working class; it can punish no worker for not fulfilling his duty and the only reward it can offer is a lot of hard work and plenty of abuse from a large section of society. The discipline in the party of the workers can be of only one kind; free, voluntary.



Now the really difficult problem arises: how to get this kind of discipline. The utterly futile way of striving for it is to foam at the mouth and denounce those who are lax and howl incessantly for increased discipline without finding out what elements which make up the basis for that virtue are lacking at the moment. What are the basic prerequisites for a disciplined membership? What must the party give in lieu of the bribery and force which its capitalist opponents can offer as a price for obedience and cooperation?

First: A crystal-clear formulation of the general political objectives of the party and a choice of correct tactics to use in working toward the accomplishment of those objectives. These can be effected and their value fully realized only through extensive and complete discussion of all basic policies by the membership as a whole.

Second: The education of the membership to an understanding of all the implications of the theories and program upon which the party operates. Only this can create the degree of political alertness which the party needs as a disciplinary foundation in the very least developed of its members.

Third: Complete democracy within the party and the corollary to that a freely elected leadership subject to the critical demands of the membership.

Fourth: A free interplay between the leadership and the mass membership, with mutual

responsibility toward each other. This implies one very important thing which has been difficult of accomplishment in working class parties heretofore: the free dissemination to the membership as a whole of all information concerning the internal status of the party, especially at times of instability. This is one of the indispensable elements in the struggle against the tendency toward the formation of unprincipled factions and personal groupings always present in political parties.

Fifth: A clear formulation of the demands made by the leading committees upon the membership and an achievability of the objectives set. The satisfactory accomplishments of a task thru joint effort, laying a minimum burden upon each individual is the best stimulator of consistent and increasing activity on the part of the whole membership.

The discipline of a party membership cannot be accomplished by decree. Unswerving devotion to the party and its program is always the product of a more or less extended process of cultivation of the ideological relationship of the members (leaders as well as general ranks) to the theories and principles of socialism and to the immediate need of the working class. Even where the most vicious manifestations of discipline occur in the ranks of certain parties, these have come not suddenly but of the result of a period of inculcation of false ideas.

A perfect example of the kind



of discipline that can be nothing but a blight upon the working class movement is that shown in the ranks of the Communist party. There discipline has become simply a blind, unreasoning, uncritical devotion to the upper bureaucracy and its policies. Not only is there no real theoretical understanding of the policies and tactics pursued, but there has grown up a violent resentment against any who show critical or analytical tendencies. A fanatical belief has been cultivated in the infallibility of the leaders of the movement as men (not mind you, as the human and not necessarily permanent instruments of application of a possibly correct long-term theory or policy). The irony of the whole business lies in the fact that this placing of implicit faith in the works of "the leader" is the essence of fascist theory.

Such a concept of discipline can attract only two kinds of people, and the Communist movement is beginning to take on the complexion of these two categories in society - elements, you will note, that also go predominantly to make up the fascist forces. They are first the middle class business and professional people who have lost their morrings through the process of capitalist decay and, like drowning men, grope desperately for something to cling to, to put their faith in, to turn over the care of their souls to. Afraid, demoralized, panicky, they want only to be saved, not to be asked to think and fight any more. With most of them it looks as if either Christian Science or Communist

party dogma would have filled the need with equal satisfaction, the only mystery being by what fluke communist dogma managed to win out.

The other element attracted by this decadent type of discipline is the lowest stratum of society, the slum proletariat. This is the element that has nothing to offer the revolutionary movement but desperation. It does not want to think, to work out long-term policies, to follow a plan which may occasionally require a high degree of restraint and maneuvering until conditions have ripened for effective action. Capitalism has degraded these people to the level of starving animals, driven to hunt in packs to satisfy, immediately and at any cost, their hunger and need. Their discipline is a discipline of the moment only and is based not upon a realization of group interest but upon an instinctive comprehension that individual need can at a certain point be satisfied only by multiplication of forces. A revolutionary is resentful toward capitalism for its crime against humanity in creating the "scum proletariat" and recognizes the task of wiping out this element economically as one of the most important imperatives in his work; but so to construct a party that it gives berth to large numbers of such individuals is to build the party on dynamite which can be set off at any moment by capitalism itself, wiping out the party from the inside. This conditions is made even more dangerous by the strong influence in the party and the movement of that other weak, vacil-



lating, panicky middle-class element.

A party, to become the organizer and leader of the revolutionary movement in America must attract to itself those workers who are capable of understanding and applying with a maximum of individual initiative the main principles of revolutionary struggle to the manifold fields of working class activity. The individual members of the party must be intelligent, alert, analytical critical of everything; they must be, above all, solidly grounded in the theory of the socialist movement.

The Socialist party needs an increase of discipline within its ranks; that is common talk. But the achievement of that need is no simple matter. The first step is still with us the most important and difficult of all the steps, the hammering out of a strong and correct program of leadership for the masses of American workers. It is in essence the working out of a militant socialist theory, program and tactic, to which the working classes of America will look for guidance. The discipline we expect from our membership and a rich voluntary discipline which we may expect also from those workers who are not organizationally connected with us but willing to follow our leadership must have its first roots in a clear, scientific formulation of socialist program.

We need today, in laying the groundwork for a real discipline, a frank facing of the facts that confront the work-

ing class as a whole and the Socialist party as an organization of that class. And we need courageously to tackle the tremendous work of pounding out a strong, tempered, resilient, sharp steel weapon for the working class of America. The hand that grips that weapon must know whom it is fighting, to what purpose it makes its thrusts, and what it intends to do when the enemy is conquered and destroyed. The weapon - our party - can be forged only in the flame of thorough discussion. The mind that guides the hand - our theories and program - is clarified by criticism and analysis as it goes forward in the battle.

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#### RED FALCONS TO PRINT MAGAZINE

Marking another step forward in its efforts to build a great working class children's movement, The Red Falcons of America have announced that the Falcon Call will appear in a printed form, beginning with May Day.

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The Daily Worker seriously reports a case of expulsion of a member from the Communist party because at a dance given by the Marine Workers Industrial Union this member imbibed a trifle too much and went off on a rampage criticizing and slandering the leaders of the party.

Should members of the C.P. get into the habit of hugging the bottle the C.I. will undoubtedly issue a decree against such intolerable conduct since exhilarated comrades might begin to think and criticize.



## WHAT NOW?

For all practical purposes there is neither a communist nor a socialist party in Germany. At present the Hitler government is firmly entrenched. For now long? No one knows. It may be for a very short period. It may last quite a long time. One thing is certain. The Hitler government cannot solve the contradictions of German capitalism which brought it into power. It cannot save the German middle class from which it has drawn its main strength. It can not abolish, nor even lessen, the misery of the German working class, as it has promised to do. Already there are signs of a growing conflict within the ranks of the National Socialists. There are already visible signs of a growing dissatisfaction among those who took the socialist phrases of Hitler seriously. It will not take long before new opportunities for socialist propaganda and organization will again rise in Germany. German Socialism is not dead; it is only stunned. But when it comes back to life, it will not and cannot be the Socialism of the pre-Hitler era. German Socialism will have to come back as the regeneration of Revolutionary Proletarian Socialism, that will be ready to fight for Socialism."

Kantorovitch--ASQ Reprint No. 1

Mussolini takes the doctrine of the "white man's burden" seriously. He is now in the process of sending thousands of Italian troops to convince the Ethiopians that the civilization of the white man is so much superior to that of the

black man that the latter should gladly accept the former as his master. Only as an incident in the process of educating the Ethiopians will Mussolini annex some territory for Italy. Let us hope that the Ethiopians with the guns and ammunition furnished by white capitalists will convince him that they are a very difficult people to teach.

It's a mighty poor husband who can't get his wife to say a few words of praise about him once in a while over the back fence. Upon the occasion of our President's second anniversary in office this past week, Mrs. Roosevelt told the newspapermen what a wonderful man her husband was. Mrs. Roosevelt considered that her husband's biggest achievement was the "change in the nation's thinking to recognize the rights of the weak. Furthermore, she liked the T.V. A. and the C.C.C. and all the little homesteads out in the country. She mentioned the President's inaugural address, quoting the line: "The only thing we have to fear is fear." Those words, the "first lady" thought "will go down in history."

**CORRECTION:** On Page 13 of this issue: Elbridge's Gerry election to the Vice Presidency should read: "1812" and not "1912."

**NEXT ISSUE:** Paul Porter will have an article on "The Socialists in the American Federation of Labor."

The next issue of THE SOCIALIST APPEAL will come out on May Day! After that we will have an issue out the first of each month.